

A

L E T T E R

FROM

B R I T A N N I A

TO

T H E K I N G.

M U T A R E

Behold how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren, to dwell
together in unity!

It is like the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down to
the beard; even unto Aaron's beard, and went down to the
skirts of his clothing.

PSAL.

L O N D O N:

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ERRATUM.

Page 7, line 20, for *eodem* read *codem*.

— 30, — 5, for *blood* read *load*.

A

LETTER, &c.

SIRE,

TILL years of late, I was an object of general envy, from the honours encircling my brow as the common parent of Britons. Every succeeding generation added to my laurels. To my sons, like the paternal ghost of a certain great hero, I could have said ;

*Sic equidem ducebam animo rebarque futurum
Tempora dinumerans ; nec me mea cura fefellit !*

and this too in early time, before the arts of war and of science had enlarged their

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minds

minds and expanded their hearts. Yet now, when arrived at a zenith of improvement, both civil and military, which was not to be eclipsed, I thought, into disgrace are they so sunk with all the powers of Europe, that the name of Britain is no longer a subject of terror either or admiration.

THE little princes, who used to pay almost divine honours to her flag, now even dare to unite against her, in what they call an armed neutrality; and some of the more potent, have entered her ports in the avowed predicament. Direful change in power and in dignity!

[NOTHING, Sire, but the inveteracy of that conduct, both in police and politics, which, if pursued, will inevitably ruin Great Britain; and a box new-opened (the Dutch war) which is not less full with important evils, than was the American, could have possibly, at my advanced age, dragged me into political observations.]

My Court, once the concourse of all the tutelar Genii of the world, to solicit through me intuitively the friendship of Great Britain, is now, like the dwellings of the unfortunate, deserted. The Druids, who annually sacrificed to my oaks, have now omitted their yearly homage, as no longer they ride triumphant over the deep.

—THE conquest of St. Eustatia gives no more eclat to the British arms, than would the taking of an unprotected infant in the cradle. However, as it was by the neutral powers as well as by the enemy made a common magazine for the accommodation of the latter, it became highly necessary to seize it. Why are not those *ambo dexter* situations, with respect to Jamaica, a sugar colony more valuable than all the other British ones united, attacked at a proper season of the year; the Havannah and Hispaniola I mean? For no stronger reason, perhaps, than that they belong to the formidable enemy!—

OF Nymphs and Nereides the numerous
choirs, that, with festive songs, and
Te Deums, for victories gained, melodized
my woods, lawns, and rivers, now wander
about in solitude ; or with mœstive voice mur-
mur out elegiacs for captured fleets, unna-
tural ruptures, or for other multiplied mis-
fortunes.

My brother Neptune, the other day, emerg-
ing from his kingdom, and seating himself
upon a cliff, with dolorous voice, exclaimed,
“ O sister, how your children have all on a
“ sudden degenerated ! Of all the nations
“ that travelled over my empire, they were
“ first in my esteem. There is indeed a na-
“ tural league of friendly reciprocration be-
“ tween us ; they largely contribute to peo-
“ ple my dominions, and they love my
“ element ; whenever therefore my turbu-
“ lent brother made my region to them dan-
“ gerous, I called upon my dependants, the
“ clouds, for a rapid restoration of my pro-
“ perty, so asswaged the winds, and abated
“ the furge ; and I am to them (nay, I am
“ afraid

" afraid I should rather say, I was to them)
 " the grand barrier against their enemies.
 " I loved them, because they were brave in
 " enterprize, and generous in conquest.
 " But"—Discovering now the anguish of
 my soul, which the briny tear rolling down
 his salt-incrusted cheeks, whilst he was
 speaking, had increased ; he ceased, drooped
 his head, and immersed.

My kinsman, Eolus, who, in his rough
 way, used to be familiar with me, now passes
 me unnoticed, except by a scowling glance.

YET, Sire, Britons are still Britons ; they
 are both brave and wise ; but they are ill
 conducted. The servants constituting your
 Majesty's administration are, to speak of
 them tenderly, none of those exalted beings
 that unite the terrestrial to the celestial or-
 ders ; therefore are they irresolute, timid,
 and slow. And mighty offenders are they
 also against the political litany, for they have
 left undone those things which they ought to
 have done ; and they have done those things
 which

which they ought not to have done ; and there is no health in their labours. And in your Majesty's present mode of administration, there is a constitutive defect ; there is no one servant, who is to be responsible for the conduct of the whole war department. Yet systems, as well politic as mechanic, that are complex, cannot be brought to perfection without a supreme artificer, who is to compose, to unite, and to direct the whole.

To the want of a centurion-like minister, who could say to that man come, and he comes ; and to another go, and he goes ; and to the frailties of your Majesty's chief servants, and not to any degeneracy in Britons, is to be charged the whole sum of British disasters, and of British falling off.

THE treasury department, the departments of the secretaries of state, the admiralty commission, and that of the commander in chief, seem all to be, from the present mode of administration, allotments of business as unconnected with one another, as if they

they belonged to different kingdoms ; and therefore must not only want that strength which is acquired by a fitness of accommodation, and a well formed coincidence, but will perhaps often clash through either error or design, or through both, as the chiefs in these departments may not always be in a friendly coalition to support the reputation of one another.

WHICH not improbable is the cause that their operations, through the whole of this war, have worn a motley appearance, without the least likeness of features ; and confirms them to be rather the several unconnected expedients of different departments, in the hour of exigence, than the parts of any one regular and general scheme. Of their plans it may be said, as it was of Nature, when in a chaotic state,

congestaque eadem

Non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum.

—A classical school-boy, who along with his geographic information had acquired that of the rivalry in commerce and marine between

tween Great Britain and France and Spain, and of the appendages belonging to these several crowns in America, would have foreseen the alliance between the Bourbonite and the American, the moment England would throw away the scabbard.

FRANCE early declared, your Majesty knows, in favour of America, to spirit her up against the parent country; but then afforded her little other assistance than in words. Spain in some time after did the same, and pursued a similar conduct.

HAD these crowns become active in her defence, when she was in her full vigour, that consequence, ere now, would probably have followed, which of all others they most dread and guard against, that of her obtaining an independent independence, as it would soon be attended with the loss of South America and their sugar islands. But, they saw her half ruined before they stepped forward to assist her; and now, they only prop her, as a builder does a fabric he intends sapping,
and

and casting off from its centre into one massy ruin, that he may erect a new one in its place.

They just furnish her with such a portion of supplies, as will keep her upon her legs, till she is so drained of blood, of treasure and of credit, that should she then obtain independence, she should be so weak, as not to be able to prevent her great allies, from taking a very considerable lead in the regulation both of her police and politics. In which they would take care to indemnify themselves amply for the assistance they had given her; and that too by colonizing a well adapted part of her empire for a barrier to South America, and a security to their sugar colonies. So evident was it, by the plainest rules of policy, that the Bourbonite would at a political time, and in a political manner, join the American against England, that it was foreseen by every cabinet in Europe, your Majesty's except. And for your ministers, Sire, no excuse can be framed, from any reliance they could have had on the

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faith

faith of promises, as it is but too notoribus, that by the modern refinements in politicks, princes no longer keep their words, than it becomes their interest to break them. And the prospective temptation of the Bourbonite to break his then, must have been too great for his virtue to resist, unless his ideas had been as obnubilated as those of some of his neighbours.

THE conduct of your Majesty's ministers at the commencement of the American war, and their mode of carrying it on, (admitting even their political principle, that in England it was wisdom to use hostilities, as the best means for recalling her to obedience,) exactly tallies with that portion of sagacity, they betrayed in not discovering what would be the French and Spanish measures upon that rupture, before they were publickly avowed.

At first, they crept into hostilities by a kind of piece-meal, that implied rather a balancing, whether or not they should
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insist on America's submission, than a determined resolution to compel it. Which species of conduct was by the American explained into a fear in her to attempt to reduce him to obedience thro' violence; and therefore heightened the spirit of his resistance. And which wavering lessened the respectability of the British cabinet in the opinion of Europe, by exposing the instability of their counsels, and that they had no fixed rule for action.

And when they began to act with some degree of spirit, that fascination which hitherto had bewildered their management, still continued over them its baneful influence. For instead of stringing the bow with redoubled elasticity against the formidable auxiliaries, against them they come forward, rather in a defensive than offensive posture; but against the American hurled the whole of their vengeance; thus promoting as effectually the views of the former, as if in actual compact with them for that purpose, by using their utmost efforts to reduce the

American to such a situation, as will not improbably throw him at last into the arms of the Bourbonite, in such a condition as will oblige him to submit for some time to the parcelling out of his territories, and to the new-modelling of the government of them at discretion.

So fair an occasion for humbling the House of Bourbon, never before fell within the power of an English ministry, had they but strength of sight sufficient to have seen it. If Great Britain still holds over it that superiority at sea, which long she has been in possession of, and which, I hope, still radically exists.

The finances of France were in a bad condition. The war, if carried on by Great Britain in that sphere, in which she had at option to prosecute it, from the situation of the object of contention, would have been a mere maritime one; (the province of English strength, of English advantage;) as even those settlements, belonging to the American

can auxiliaries, which should have been the first objects for employing your Majesty's arms against, were maritime ones beyond the Atlantic. But that their management may be uniform, those places all remain unmolested. The principle too upon which France and Spain came into the field against England, tho' to themselves perhaps justifiable, by the warpings of policy; yet, at the same time, so repugnant to the fundamentals of equity, that no other power in Europe, (no other powers being interested in the fate of America, but these already in contest about it,) would, on any decline of the Bourbonite's strength, either as an auxiliary or as a mediator, have joined him upon the principle of dismembering America from England. She would therefore have had only the former powers to combat with, either in the cabinet or in the field, being exempt from all subsidies to foreign princes; as, in that line of conduct, foreign troops would not have been wanted.

BESIDES,

BESIDES, had England thrown her whole strength into a maritime war, that sovereign protection which of course it would have extended to her own trade, and that injury which her enemies would as naturally have suffered, would soon have annihilated the latter. Not to mention, that the millions spent to carry on a war merely maritime, would be less injurious to England, than a continental one, that did not require a tenth part of the money. The disbursements of the former would centre with herself, being only in circulation from one hand to the other, and back again; whereas, those of the latter are ingulphed in foreign states, never to return.

AND as a war with America was to be prosecuted, the chief scenes of action must be in those seas, where the Americans' trade would have inevitably so suffered, that if hostilities of any kind could call him back to submission, such would.

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IN politics it was a solecism of the first magnitude, to enter into a continental war with America, supposing her to have been a natural enemy, instead of a natural friend. The vast extent of that empire; the expence and difficulty to transport troops to such a distance, a multiplicity of reasons too obvious to mention forbid it. And as administration thought that to dragoon her was the best method of bringing her back to obedience, the interruption of her fisheries, and of her trade, which was the most sensible parts of her feelings, a maritime war would have closely applied to her. And for that purpose, Halifax in Nova-Scotia would have made an excellent northern repository.

BUT when the House of Bourbon cast itself into the American scale, Great Britain should, on getting her grand enemy and rival in a predicament, wherein her superiority in troops gave her no advantage (the scene of war lying beyond such an expanse of ocean) have braced up every nerve in her marine department, by throwing her whole strength
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into that line; and should have rushed with it all into the vitals of the Gaul and of the Castilian. Which probably on the American might have been productive of a return of amity in him to England; by striking him with an awe at her power and resolution, and with perhaps sensations of a finer nature, at seeing her mighty indignation turned aside from him, through a mixture of pity and contempt, and discharged upon enemies many times more formidable.

THE conduct of infinite wisdom, upon the first human transgression, should stand as an eternal rule of direction for every person, who wishes not to destroy, but to recall to love, duty, and obedience. The charge, though brought home against the culprit, who first erred, was not followed by an immediate denunciation of divine judgment upon her. No, but upon the serpent, which was not to be saved; and which was the more cunning; the more powerful, and the more criminal (being the seducer) the overflowing measure of divine wrath was poured.

Which

Which affords an exalted exhibition of four of the attributes of the Deity, wisdom, justice, mercy, and power.

If the seeds of the American rebellion were not sown by the Bourbonite, they were fostered and fomented by him. Therefore had England held him as the arch-enemy, and turned against him her resentment, the American might have felt the lenity of the parent country, and have returned to his obedience. Mercy, of all conciliating medicines, is the most potent.

BUT as the human mind frequently turns in upon itself to search for a rule of conduct; the weak and timid one, concluding erroneously from its own feelings, adopts coercive measures, pains and penalties, as the most certain and speedy method for obtaining the wished-for end; which of all others is the most effectual one that could be taken to prevent it; for in all revolts, where any leading motive of action prevails, the invariable maxim is,

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.

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It is indeed, the true character of human nature, she may be led; but with success cannot be driven.

HAD Great-Britain prosecuted the war with vigour against France and Spain, and only have chastened the American, as a parent does the erring child of his affection; and that, that mode should fail in obtaining the desired event; yet, over the present method, it would have had considerable advantages. For if in that case America succeeded, she would gain her independence without the special and immediate assistance of the Bourbonite, and in the bloom of her strength, and therefore would not be humbled into the creature of his views to the prejudice of England; but independently would stand upon her own principles; and though not the subject of Great-Britain, very possibly might be her ally to counteract the designs of the House of Bourbon in that part of the world. America would, however, in that state of things, be a very considerable power; the jealousies therefore that naturally

rally would arise between France and Spain and her, about a partition between them of the English colonies there, would be a great means of securing them to the latter. But should America be so reduced as to draw her chief support from France and Spain, yet obtain independence, she will then be little other, for some time, than a colony to these crowns; and the English sugar islands will soon fall to the House of Bourbon. And should France and Spain find that the American is not so flexible to their measures as they could wish, they having obtained the grand point they had in view, his ruin, will very probably leave him to be nursed by England.

AND of all the modes of making war, that carried on by Great-Britain against the Bourbonite, the defensive, is the worst. It is a tacit confession of superiority in the enemy; therefore raises in him a confidence that it is so, and begets an enterprising spirit. It checks the ardour of the defensive party, and reduces him in the opinion of his neighbours.

Besides, it leaves the enemy at liberty to throw his whole force into offensive action, having no alarms to employ him defensively.

BE the fate of America, at this time, what it may, the Bourbonite will gain a great point. Should she succeed in her plan of independence, she will be so reduced by the time it is gained, that she will for some time be under the controul of her great allies. Should she be humbled into her former allegiance, so shattered will she be in every respect, that for many years to come, their American territories will have nothing to fear from her. And the ravages that have been committed upon the American's property; and the rivers of blood that have flowed from the veins of his nearest relatives, will occasion such ranklings in his breast, that they will have nothing to apprehend from any junction between Great Britain and him, as all cordiality of union must be at an end there. So that the Bourbonite, by feeding the rupture between England and America, has increased the distance of that evil hour, which

which will, however late, one day strip him of all his possessions in the American world; and even now perhaps much sooner than he expects; and at the same time he has distressed his natural rival and enemy, Great Britain.

AND should England carry her point against America, her acquisition will consist in a multitude of cripples of her own making; who have been by her so bruised and maimed, that she will have them for some time to heal and to support, as they will be incapable of supporting themselves; and also the civil power that will be necessary for their regulation. And to compleat the advantage of her bargain, as soon as they are perfectly recovered, they will most certainly desert from her, and flock to the old standard.

FOR as gradually as America recovers her strength, in like proportion will the spirit of independence animate her breast; it will grow with her growth, and strengthen with her strength. And the knowledge which the Europeans have, since the commencement
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of the American war, acquired of the internal excellence of that empire, and of what high value money and industry will be there on the return of peace; together with the vassallage of the Germanic communities, and the rack-rents and heavy taxes under which the subjects of England labour, will, thro' emigration, much sooner people and enrich America, and bring to completion her favourite principle, than common observers are aware of.

THE voyage of Orlando Furioso to the moon is not more chimerical, than the idea of England's keeping America in subjection. For an island to hold in vassallage, for any length of time, a vast empire, separated from her by a world of waters, is a supposition, that could only be entertained in minds that embrace shadows for substances, and therefore beget monsters.

FOR, suppose that America was to be peopled with an equal proportion of souls, drawn from every corner of the earth, as soon as they

they were set down there, in their politics they would immediately become unanimous, not to receive laws from any other power. Which local effect must be evident to every person, acquainted with the situation and extent of that new world, and the natural turn of the human mind.

THE head and not the hand England should have employed against America. Negotiation and not arms. The largesses of police should have been dealt out to her, till she was pacified. But with a parsimonious hand; not a point of indulgence more than what was unavoidable; that the fund of immunities might hold out as long as possible. As when it was all exhausted, she then would beyond doubt, seat herself upon the throne of independence, as an heiress arrived at maturity; a maturity which at some period, all the powers upon earth will not be able to deprive her of. It will be one empire, the southern part will be united to the northern by the hardier sons of the latter.

BESIDES,

BESIDES, the true policy of England was to have kept upon such good terms with the American, as would have entitled her to receive from him, in the decline of her vigour, and in the decrepitude of her age, as from a filial child, that protection with interest, which to him she had granted when in an infant state. And for which filial purpose he is most commodiously situated, being in the neighbourhood of the grand source of the riches of Spain; and of a considerable part too of that of France. Therefore, if in friendship with England, he would deter the Bourbonite from trespassing upon her, either at home or in the West Indies. As bodies politic as well as bodies natural undergo the *gradus* of youth, age, and dissolution; and the former like the latter, have in their embryotic state those seeds that are, when ripe, to exterminate them.

And it is not improbable, but that, that very ingredient, which constitutes the superior felicity of the English constitution, the

power of controul the different states have over one another, will, through perversion, become instrumental to its dissolution. Nor will an adventitious institution, which has been grafted upon her political system, the monied-interest, contribute a little towards accelerating that epocha. For from the present huge bulk of the funds, and the further very promising and speedy growth of them, the taxes, necessary for their support, must in time, become too grievous, too intolerable to be borne, and will therefore, in all human probability, produce the following alternative: Britain will be desolated, by emigration, or the constitution shattered in a frenzy of the commonwealth.

THE lust of power, your Majesty knows, like that of sensuality, often destroys the means of that enjoyment it wishes to promote. A violent thirst after absolute authority and unbounded territories, may lead the monarch into such excesses, as will not only hazard the dismemberment from him

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of the remoter parts of his empire, but will perhaps half ruin his principal dominions, from the load of debt incurred by his despotic pursuits.

SHOULD the British throne at any period devolve to a prince of such a disposition, the patronage of the crown is now so great, and dissipation and luxury have so vitiated the human heart, and created such an army of wants, that in the legislature he could never fail of having a majority to carry every favourite measure. Which would make him an absolute sovereign, and that too with the sanction of law at his heels. Taxes upon taxes would be raised, and funds upon funds; which would split his kingdom into such party-contention, that, like a house divided, would endanger the foundation; as not virtue under such a mode of administration, but an inclination and an ability to promote and support the favourite schemes of the sovereign, would be the only successful claim to all places of honour and emolument under the crown.

A system

A system of measures that would enervate and destroy the healthiest political constitution upon earth.

THE monied-interest is already grown to a size so enormous, that the extremes of it are pallied; the animating spirit, the specie, bearing no proportion to the massy weight it has to move, circulates partially, in the channels of new loans; where the most advantage accrues. Government being now obliged, like the prodigal, to raise money by premium.

TRADE and the landed property are the pillars which support the funds; and in proportion as those are impaired these become infirm. Who will lend to the commercial man at five per cent. when government holds out national security and eight or ten including the omnium; and that security a live stock, which, should occasion require, could be immediately converted into money? Or what monied-man will shortly embark in trade, when by be-

coming a government usurer, he can make eight or ten per cent. without any hazard; as subscribers hold their portions of a loan no longer, than till they have retailed it out to others?

By which means commerce will lose the assistance of these, who could be its most useful members, the rich; and these will be cramped in their abilities to carry it on properly. The landed man, who wants money, will, from the same cause, feel the same inconvenience; and his property will decline considerably in its value; for, who will purchase lands, when the interest of funded property is superior, and the principal so easily called in; unless they can be bought under twenty years purchase. And to complete the evils which will be the concomitants of a national debt so immense, the multitude of taxes annually raised to support it, will so enhance the price of the necessary accommodations of life, that it will banish to foreign nations many ingenious mechanics with the mysteries of their trade; and those
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who remain at home, must have such an addition to their wages, to enable them to support themselves and their families, that their employers will not be able to export their commodities, as other nations, who can bring them to market cheaper, would under-sell them.

It being demonstrably evident, that, in proportion to the increase of the national debt, the pedestals of it, commerce, trade, and landed property must moulder away; how then is it possible that a fabric can stand, which has story piling upon story, yet is, at the very same time, sapping at the foundation?

ENGLAND may, like a strong and spirited horse that is over-laden, yet keeps travelling on while the road is smooth and regular, but should it become rugged he moves with great difficulty, and if he happens to slip, down he tumbles and crash goes his burden, from his impossibility to recover under such a weight; and if not destroyed, he is sure to receive some irreparable injury. England may, whilst her police and property remain unin-

uninterrupted, continue travelling on, for some yet considerable time; but should an enemy disturb the one and alarm the other, perilous would be her situation from the ponderousness of her blood.

THO' obvious, Sire, as I should conceive, such consequences must be to those in power; yet, instead of recurring to means to ward them off, they, finding it their present interest, continue supporting those very measures which promote them. For to such a pitch has dissipation and luxury risen, that the favourite maxim of the times seems to be,

*Quid sit futurum cras, fuge querere ;
Quam sero dierum cumque dabit, lucro
Appone.*

THEY care not, so that they themselves have loaves and fishes, whether posterity has bread, liberty or cloathing. Pshaw! perhaps some statesman will say, this is a hackneyed doctrine; a bugbear held out by party for more than fifty years past; yet England is still England. True, Sire; but
England

England was then advancing every day in wealth. Her commerce was multiplying; and the value of her landed property was rising in proportion. In the improvement and extension of trade, she took the start of all the rest of Europe. But her surrounding neighbours, informed by observations, that industry and a maritime trade are the most healthy of all sources to draw riches from, (as at the same time they furnish the strongest sinews for political strength and safety,) are all become her competitors. The league lately entered into by several of the maritime powers, called an armed neutrality, so fully implies a general intention to oppose all exclusive rights to particular branches of commerce, that I soon expect to see all monopolizing companies abolished, and the door of trade indiscriminately thrown open for the general benefit. Her immense debt, as has been already observed, will cramp her trade. The superior advantages of living in the western hemisphere will, when the storm there has subsided, be productive of a great emigration from her. And the free commerce

merce lately obtained by a sister kingdom, that has, in many respects, the advantage of her for carrying on trade, will there raise up against her a formidable rival. England has arrived at the zenith of her greatness, one step further it is impossible for her to go. And nothing, but superlative wisdom in her administration and legislature, can support her where she now stands. Above all things that corner stone of strength, Union, should be recalled and preserved; which can never be done, whilst any particular set of men, because they worship the favourite idols, are to fill all places of honour and profit. But when virtue becomes the only recommendation, union will then follow of course.

No great improvement in the state of the national wealth or police, is, I conceive, to be looked for from your Majesty's noble treasurer, if a judgment may be formed from the several specimens he has already given in the province of finance.

HITHERTO,

HITHERTO, the excellence of all financiers was understood to consist in the raising of supplies in so diffuse and equal a manner, that the weight of them, like that of the atmosphere, though ponderous, should be supported insensibly. But the noble Lord has adopted a financing principle that is in diametric opposition to that wanted custom; for he brings home his levies to the most sensible feelings of the subject, by laying an embargo on the necessary accommodations of life, at the very door of their stomachs and of their senses, till the tax is paid.

AND if the noble treasurer and his colleagues were determined that an expensive continental war should be carried on in America, how came he to establish money-remitances to pay the troops there; when the enemy's were paid in paper, that was never in credit, but always doubtful? Was it to send out of the nation an immense treasure, to circulate among, and to centre with, the enemy, to assist them in their ways and means, when every guinea of which England

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is drained in this manner, is as prejudicial to her, as the loss of an ounce of blood would be to a man of ninety ! The specie necessary for wielding her national debt vigorously, should be ten shillings in the pound ; it should not be less than five ; yet, she has not more than two ; and if the American war, upon the present principle of remittance, continues two or three years longer, she will be reduced to about one ; a melancholy situation should the great channel of public affairs be ruffled by an enemy. Not to mention the great sum constantly necessary for the national bank, to support its paper-mint. Or was it to raise a great fortune for these individuals, who are employed in the patriotic office of remitting it ! Or, for that very singular reason, which nevertheless, has many similar ones to countenance it, to add to the patronage of the crown, by the creation of a lucrative employment !

AN able financier, well aware of the great value of money to England, would not have sent beyond the bounds of national

tional circulation one shilling. Nor would he (if possible to be avoided) have added one pound more to the funds. But annually would have raised, by taxation only, supplies sufficient for the exigencies of the year; a mode perhaps yet not impracticable, (and which long since should have been adopted,) as objects not improper for taxation, to an amount sufficient for carrying on a naval war, (the only one which, in the present disputes England should have waged,) still remain in a maiden state. And then, the incumbrance would always cease with the war.

—AND if a coinage of commodious paper to pay the British army in America had been at first set on foot there, accompanied with the following accommodating advantages, it indubitably would have succeeded.

THAT offices should be erected at convenient places for exchanging for larger notes, the lesser ones paid away by the

soldiery ; that all such notes, amounting to ten pounds and upwards, should be on Bank of England paper, and made payable there, with a specialty distinguishing them to be the notes issued for that singular service ; and that all remittances in such notes should be sacred from confiscation by any British subject ; for should any ship or vessel be taken, by any British ship, in which were letters, or any other species of packet, containing such notes, such letters and notes, should be forwarded with all speed and safety possible to where they were directed ; and that all goods of British manufacture, or purchased in any part of Great Britain, warlike stores excepted, should be exempt in like manner from British capture ; and for that purpose should be particularly marked, that with certainty they might be identified.

Such specialties, or something similar, would have brought such paper, through the convenience of it, into a credit superior to money ; have kept the English specie

cie at home; saved the great expence of remittance, and would have occasioned the greater part of such notes, with the advantages concomitant on commerce, to centre in Great Britain. But this would have been so dissimilar to the noble Treasurer's general system of conduct, that it would have spoiled the uniformity of it. The incapacity of your Majesty's ministers is incontrovertibly proved, by their having unsuccessfully offered to the American many more immunities, as a reward if he would return to his allegiance, than he at first required; yet, the *majors* and the *minors* which were productive of the exigencies that reduced them to that state of humiliation, were as evident in deduction, as the conclusion of a syllogism.

EXTRAORDINARY however as that series of conduct of your Majesty's ministers in the higher enterprizes of government, which I have been observing upon, may appear; and impossible to be surpassed by them, as it may be supposed, in the same track of
doing

doing business ; nevertheless, I am not as yet arrived at the climax of their excellence in the mysteries of government ; which will be demonstrated by taking a summary view of that sample they have given of their skill in police, when, through the superlative ignorance and pusillanimity of the civil power, the suppression of an assemblage of the very dregs of the people, (who had become disorderly) devolved upon them ; in which they seem to have outdone all their former outdoings ; and hitherto to stand unrivaled by any set of politicians in any age or nation of the world ; and will, I am confident, so remain to the end of time ; unless by a set just started up, in a country called Holland, who I shall by-and-by take notice of.

Nihil regibus arduum est, should be, Sire, the maxim of kings ; and of ministers, when the state is obliged to interfere.

In a civil commotion, the able politician, how formidable soever he may conceive it

to

to be, by his conduct disguises his apprehensions. He does not run and arm government in a bustle. For, that would be adding a great weight to the insurgents. First, it would raise them into consequence with themselves, from seeing that they had greatly alarmed the sovereign power; and, from the very same cause, it would raise them into importance and reputation with three not inconsiderable classes, as to number, that exist in every state. The timid, who, though, in secret, hearty espousers of the cause, will not stir till they see what turn it is likely to take; those of desperate fortune, whom no change can make worse, and those, who have no principle of election, only that of joining with the prevailing party.

BUT the politician, to guard against an accession of these multiplied evils, takes up the suppression of the insurrection, not only with as little show as possible, but also in a contemptuous manner, as if the hand of the chief magistrate was Omnipotent, and that the touch of a state finger was sufficient to
 crush

crush it; and not with a military parade, as if he would be under the necessity of employing the whole power of government to effect it.

BUT to all political wisdom so repugnant, was the management of your Majesty's great officers of state, upon the late disorderly association in your capital, that were it possible, that a loose gathering together of a body of people formed out of the very lowest of the populace; without any leader, without any principal motive of action; except, that which is congenial to such classes, anarchy, confusion, and rapine; and have been stimulated into a rebellion against the state, they pursued the most effectual method for doing it; and if in the kingdom there had been a disaffected body, they took the best of all possible means for adding them to the commotioners.

LARGE bodies of military, from distant parts of the kingdom, were ordered up to the capital, with all expedition; and the seat

of government was surrounded with troops. The adjacent parks were covered with encampments, and the avenues to the throne were secured by a wall of bayonets. Every feature of government was a characteristic of fear.

If any person, a stranger to the cause of that military show, and to the English constitution, unexpectedly had fallen in with it, he must either have concluded that the country was invaded by some formidable enemy, or that he was in some despotic state, where the life of the tyrant had no security, but within a rampart of cannon, and *chevaux de frise* of bayonets; and not at the palace gates of the King of Great Britain; who will always enjoy inviolate security, within that most impregnable of all fortresses, the love of his people, whilst the true spirit of the English constitution both in church and state is kept up, by a just administration of it.

Had the disturbance happened at any distance from the seat of government, in the

first stage of it, before proper persons were sent to review the seditioners, administration either thro' the ignorance or misrepresentation of informers might be mislead; but it was immediately under the cognizance of their own senses.

To review them fell, I should conceive, under the department of the commander in chief; and were it possible that so important a part of his duty (government having conceived the commotion in a very important light) should escape his attention, it was the business of the ministry to remind him of it.

If such a review was neglected, the omission is unpardonable; if taken, and that the judgment formed by the reviewer produced the mighty warlike preparations exhibited upon that occasion, his head and his heart must resemble those of the celebrated Squire, who mistook the noise of a fulling-mill for that of a combat between giants; and a flock of the most harmless quadrupeds for an army of warriors.

FOR even after they had received every encouragement, that the strongest indication of fear, both in government and in the civil power, could have given to them ; and after their body, like the snow-ball, had been very considerably increased, by rolling amidst kindred matter, for several days together without control ; yet still were they so contemptible a banditti, that a civil power possessed of a very moderate portion of understanding and resolution could have suppressed them.

A MINISTER of abilities, Chatham in the meridian of his understanding, would, at such a time, instead of alarming the state, have converted to its advantage, and to that of the community at large, an insurrection of the kind, by pruning the latter of many bad members, and by supplying the former with four or five thousand useful ones for the army and navy.

AN insidious advertisement might have been framed, that would have brought the

whole of that mob together ; at some place, convenient for having them hedged in by a body of military stationed for that purpose ; (a stratagem which their tumultuous and destructive association would have abundantly justified) and then to have culled all those who were fit for service ; and to the rest have had, at the same time, read a proclamation forbidding, under certain penalties, any person in future to wear any ribband, or any other distinction, that should be made the characteristic of an unlawful assembly.

HAD even the blue cockades been proscribed, that alone would have quelled the tumult. But no interdiction being issued against it, the rioters at length became so hardy, that they menaced almost every person they met without it. Numbers therefore of respectable people, who detested their proceedings ; yet, for the security of themselves, their families, and their property, put blue ribbands into their hats, and hung them out at their windows ; which circumstance

stance to the rioters, superficially added a very great and respectable body, and was to them therefore productive of a delusive encouragement; and to the community of a delusive belief of their formidableness. But, at that particular juncture, there seems to have been a general eclipse of the intellectual powers among all the great officers of the Crown.

AND after the paroxysm of the fit, which had so be-fevered their heads, and so be-agüed their hearts, was over; they attempted to rescue themselves from the shameful imputation of having been, like children, terrified with a raw-head and bloody-bones, by continuing the encampments, and keeping up the military show, as if they had discovered some plot pregnant with rebellion, for several weeks after the ragamuffins, who had bewildered them, were returned to their cellars and to their garrets.

NOR having in the plenitude of their wisdom considered, that, that was holding out
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to the Bourbonite and to the American a signal of information, that their hands were sufficiently engaged at home, without having them to deal with.

AND if, at the expence of their morals, they have endeavoured, to exculpate themselves from the reproach of having suffered the rioters, for several days together, to destroy the property of subjects, who, from the great sums annually paid by them into the revenue, were state pillars ; by saying, that they permitted it, to convince the civil power how unequal it was to protect the person and property of the subject, without the assistance of the military.

• THEY have in fact proved nothing more, than that their frailties were not confined to their heads, but also extended to their hearts. Their subterfuges upon that occasion resemble the efforts of an animal to extricate itself from the toils ; for the more they struggled, the more they were entangled.

No

No part of the state has escaped the injuries of misconduct, not even the church. Evidence not inferior to that of one's own senses could possibly have established a belief, that Administration would have exerted itself in breaking the subject into parties; and that too by the most inexorable of all jealousies, religious ones.

A more impolitic and ill-timed step no state perhaps ever before took, than did Great Britain by the late relaxation of the popery laws in England and in Ireland. The juncture was, for such a measure, singularly unfavourable.

Luxury and dissipation have so depraved the heart, and enervated the religious dispositions of the people, that, for a religion which holds out the remission of sins, the moment is most opportune to gain converts and to be eagerly embraced. And Great Britain, within these latter years, has had an inundation of a learned and subtle body of the Roman Catholic persuasion, the Jesuits, who,

who, though members of the constitutional church of those governments under which they lived, and were founded; and though the pillars of the papal throne, yet, from their crafty, restless and designing turn of mind, deemed so dangerous to the state, that their order has not only been abolished, but they themselves banished. And by those gentlemen, many seminaries for learning are established in Great Britain.

BESIDES, the relaxation of the popery laws was become almost unnecessary. The majority of that profession, who in temporal matters (for, through the mildness and courtesy of the English constitution, they as fully enjoyed all the essentials of their religion, as if under the sanction of the laws) could have suffered from their strictures, the rich, were become Protestants; and had that police been continued for half a century more, both the law and the relaxation would be wholly unnecessary; as self-interest together with a principle more laudable, would have so united the subject, by that time, in the Protestant church,

church, as to make the distinction unknown.

AND what great things has that relaxation done for the Roman Catholics? Or what for the state? For the former, nothing as it appears; but revived against them the suspicion and envy of all the different sects of Protestors, which was nigh all forgotten; and which fifty years hence would not, had things been continued as they were, have a foot to stand upon. And for the latter, set the subjects at variance with one another.

YOUR Majesty's ministers therefore instead of laying materials for the foundation of strength, unity, so excelled upon that occasion, in dividing and sub-dividing your subjects, as the great clamour, then and since has evinced, that one would be induced to think, that the spirit of *Ishmael*, *whose hand was against every one, and every one's hand against him*, had gone forth amongst them.

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YET

YET, at the same time that the infirmities of men are marked, it is but common justice, that their virtues should not remain unnoticed.

Is not the consideration his Lordship has shewn in relieving the merchant from the great trouble of ascertaining and receiving his discount upon the customs, by with-holding from him the whole : very great ! Though some ill-natured people compare it to the depriving a man of a loaf, lest in getting at the crumb, he should injure his teeth with the hardness of the crust.

THAT however, affords but a faint glimpse of his Lordship's benevolence, when assimilated to the great sensibility he has shewn in his conduct to the West-India planter, on account of the heavy visitations he has had from earthquakes, hurricanes, and inundations, by only taxing him 326,000*l.* which must prove him to be a very orthodox Christian, who believes that charity covers a multitude of sins, or he would never have treat-
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ed him with such *generosity* and *tendernefs*; and that too at a juncture when the exigencies of the State are so great, that the 190,000*l.* which fell into the public this year, by the expiration of the 4 *per cent.* annuities, cannot, his Lordship says, with *political prudence*, be applied towards paying any part of the interest of the new-loan, but must be thrown into the sinking fund.

THERE are those, however, who will not allow his Lordship to be altogether so immaculate; and who think, that darkness rather than light, is more suitable to some part of his works. And in evidence of this position, instance the great dislike he seems to have to light, from the high price he makes the commonwealth pay for the admission of it.

YOUR Majesty's noble treasurer too, is so paramount in unlocking, by premium, the coffers of the usurer, that should the present war continue for two or three years longer, he will not leave even gleanings, for a supply

by loan, to carry on any future one, such immense sums, at such premiums, is he yearly raising to support the present. And human nature seems not to be declining in a fertility of those causes which lay the foundation for war, ambition and avarice in their various shapes.

WHICH conduct, if pursued, will at length oblige government to resort, in some expensive war, for supplies, to the last and most desperate of all resources, the taxes, by a premature reduction at first of the interest of funded property, and in the rage of the contest, by a total suspension of it, the whole being necessary for the exigencies of the state. Not without promise and intention to restore the interest, and to make good the deficiencies of it, upon the return of peace is admitted ; but the faith of government once broken would never be relied upon again, and the consequences that instantly would follow, are too obvious to mention. And, as the sole support of thousands would depend upon the regular payment of that interest, necessity,

which even Jupiter himself was obliged to submit to, would precipitate these consequences.

AND his Lordship's dexterity is not confined to that of raising money for the state, he is not less adroit in the securing of a majority in a certain House. It seems however, that in the circle of politics, these are not qualities of the most salubrious kind.

AND the new method adopted by him for that purpose, that of parcelling out amongst the assessors, the subscription to the assessment, is one so pestiferous, that was the body ever so sound, it will soon infect it with a general mortification. Will the representative at all consider the burden of the commonwealth, when the greater the sum granted, and the larger the premium, (the latter of which will always in that case be very considerable, that there may be room for gleanings for the under-strappers, who are to take the payment of it off their hands,) the more advantage will accrue to the grantors, they themselves
having

having the benefit of the subscription. It is a mode so big with corruption, that, to save the constitution, it should be wholly extirpated, by making a seat in the legislature so incompatible with a loan-subscriber, that it should vacate his seat.

SHOULD Great Britain, notwithstanding the wounds she has received, both in church and state, be still able to preserve her constitution, which, I trust she will, if proper state physicians are timely called in to her assistance, she has in her stamina, the best materials of which any political system was ever composed, although a sage of antiquity had not the least idea of such government-ingredients.

As balm should always be poured into fresh-probed wounds, I shall here observe, that the States of Holland, if the

Solamen miseris socios habere doloris,

be as relative to complaints of the head, as it is to those of the heart, are to your Majesty's ministers more than true brothers in affliction,

tion, and afford them, by their present conduct towards England, a cephalic so potent, that to them it must be a mere specific.

FOR the seven provinces to break with England, upon any account whatever, their situation considered both locally and politically, with respect to some of their great continental neighbours, marks them for such infirmity of mind, as was never before suffered to go at large in any nation, (it being the custom, time immemorial, in all countries, to appropriate certain houses for the reception of persons attacked with so violent a cephalalgia) unless in the nations of the Brobdingnags and of the Yahoos, described by that renowned traveller, Lemuel Gulliver,

THE existence of that Republic depends so much upon the amity and power of England, that, if rightly she understood her own safety and welfare, she would be as tenacious of the prosperity of Britain, as of her own, supposing even that she had not one shilling in the English funds, Nor should
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an attention to the same policy in England towards Holland be unreciprocal. The Bourbonite is playing with them part the second of the American game,

HE has address enough, it seems, to make those bodies politic, that are his rivals in trade and natural enemies, to worry one another, though the strongest natural ties of mutual interest and security should unite them indissolubly for each other's defence. He has inflamed and supported the American against the Britain, till the former is almost torn to pieces, and the latter much bruised and out of breath. And he is now setting England and Holland together by the ears; countries, which, by all the bandages of mutual safety and protection, should be so closely united, that were it possible, one of them could have been peopled from the celestial, and the other from the infernal regions; yet, opposite however in their internal principles, in their temporal interests, an uninterrupted concordance to support one another, should be their guide,

GREAT

GREAT Britain and the Dutch should not be unmindful, that on the Germanic throne sits a young Sovereign, who is possessed of intellectual abilities ; pregnant with the spirit of enterprize, and who is at the head of a formidable army : that his sister is Queen of France, and takes an active part in that cabinet. Should England then and the States General be so mad as to mangle one another, when, in the extremity of their wounds, schemes of mutual advantage might be concerted between the Emperor and France, to dismember the latter, and to parcel it out between them. Prussia, for old reasons, having no cordiality for England, would feel no other emotions upon such an occasion, than what were merely political, and those might be quieted, by putting him into some unexpected acquisition. As to the Russian, he is too distant to interfere. An event which would in time prove more fatal to England than even would the loss of America.

My zeal for the honour and happiness of Great Britain, has already so extended this
I letter,

letter, that from your Majesty I cannot look for longer indulgence, than to repeat, that Britons are still Britons. With a bravery and with a generosity, not to be rivalled, now, even now, are they breathing their veins, and generously opening their coffers, for the honour of their Sovereign; for the dignity of his crown, and for the prosperity of his realms. And to crown their efforts and their labours with success, they want but proper conductors in the cabinet; and an addition to the proper leaders already in the field. Nor is Great Britain deficient in either. Yet strange the fatality! Strange the effects of party, of partiality, many of them are not employed!

THE whole line of superannuated, of rusticated sea-officers, has been lately more than once turned out, to select one for an important service; yet, at the very same time was unemployed, and still remains so, a noble subject, who is, without exception, the first sea-officer in the world.

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It may be true, that that noble Lord, tho' well disposed soever he may be to serve his Sovereign and his country; yet a nice tenaciousness for his own honour, his own reputation, may influence him to decline serving under ministers, who would, he is perhaps but too well aware, rather wish to see him suffer in the dearest and tenderest points, than properly to support him.

OR, such an officer at the head of the admiralty board, would be of the first consequence to England; instead of having that place, which is of the utmost import to her, filled by a mere theorist, who can be no judge of the merit of naval officers; and who, in the whole course of this war, if I am not misinformed, never fixed any one appointment of a naval centry, till some misfortune, first pointed out to him the necessity of having the post guarded.

You have also, Sire, a noble subject (your Majesty has many, I hope,) who is possessed of all the principal qualities in a war minister.

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He has a clear and digestive head, and a heart firm and resolute. He would never mistake imaginary for real evils. But would with coolness put his ideas into the balance, and determine with comparative precision. Courage in a war minister is not less necessary than in a general. For, when the heart is unmuscular and timid, it shakes the understanding tho' ever so good; and represents spectres and hobgoblins to the minister for real substances; and deters him from any undertaking, the success of which is not first mathematically demonstrable.

You have, Sire,—————
your Majesty has a choice of subjects, were they but employed! well qualified to fill every department in the state. Nor is the time altogether elapsed for redressing many of those errors that have been committed; for avoiding many more which the same kind of management if pursued will inevitably produce, and for perhaps reinstating Great Britain over the main in triumph.

If the poet was, in his own special province, to have the following indulgence,

*Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis
Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura.*

I AM to hope, that my age, my sex, a disuse of epistolary correspondence, will all united, plead sufficient excuses for my inaccuracies here.

I am,

Your Majesty's, &c.

BRITANNIA.

In the poet was, in his own special grace
since, to have the following indulgence,

I want not place when in company with you
Offender means, that not to be
and others have not seen.

I am to hope, that my age, my sex, a
style of epistolary correspondence, with all
upheld, plead sufficient excuses for my inno-
cencies here.

I am,

Your Most Obedient Son,

BRITANNIA.